

SPEECH OF MR. CLINGMAN.

[Our columns are commonly so much occupied with the Reports of Debates in the Senate (made and published under an existing contract with that body) and other articles of commanding interest, that it is not in our power, without encountering expenses too heavy to be borne by this Establishment, to publish at large all Debates which take place in the House of Representatives. We are obliged to select such as we suppose would most interest our readers, or most gratify their curiosity. Of this class we have supposed would be the speech, published to-day, of Mr. CLINGMAN, of North Carolina, the contents of which, should the reader not have already heard any account of it, will, we think, astonish him. Some Whig speech, in reply to this speech from a Whig, we shall not fail, when we meet with a fit opportunity, to spread before our readers.]

Mr. CLINGMAN said that the committee was well aware that he had, on yesterday, intimated a purpose to discuss the questions involved in the propositions relating to the Mexican Territory. That subject was regarded by the whole country as one of the most important of the day, and he therefore intended for debating it. To prevent misconception, (said he), I say in advance that I have great confidence in the judgment, integrity, and patriotism of the President. I further admit fully the right of the citizens of each State to be heard in their own defense. But I do not intend to refer to them in the message. But who are the people entitled so to decide? The time and manner of admission as well as the boundary of new States, are in themselves questions for the judgment of Congress, under the act of 1850. The territory of Texas, under our first foreign acquisition, was retained nearly ten years in that condition before she was allowed to form a State constitution. In the case of Texas, the people being composed almost entirely of citizens of the United States, the question of admission was not a new one. Texas twenty years—she was admitted at once as a State into the Union. In the present case, there are considerations of the greatest importance connected directly and indirectly with our action on this subject. While adhering to them as fully as the rules will admit, I ask the indulgence of the House.

Looking over the whole ground, however, I do not at all dissatisfied with the course which things took. There has been no such division at the South as would be at all likely to impair efficient service hereafter. From the tone of the Southern press, as well as from other indications, it is obvious that the South will, at an early day, be sufficiently united to ensure the success of whatever measures it may be necessary to adopt to protect ourselves from the aggression menaced by the North. As to the election of a Speaker, in the present condition of the House and the country, I have never considered it of the slightest moment to either political party, or to either section of the Union. A Speaker without a majority of the House would be of no advantage to the Administration, and it would be an arrangement which admits material objections from both parties, or even from one section.

To those gentlemen from the North who aided us in an attempt to settle the question in some manner not disgraceful or destructive to us, I tender my thanks. In standing by the rights of the South they have shown themselves friends of the Constitution and of the Union.

the goal to win the popular mind. By circulating an immense number of inflammatory pamphlets, filled with all manner of falsehood and calumny against the South, its institutions, and its men, because there was no contradiction in the charges, the Republicans were able to make a headlong dash against us. As soon as it became probable that there would be an acquisition of territory, the question at once became a great practical one, and the politicians immediately took the matter in hand. With a view to strengthening the ties of the societies (whose old both parties courted in the struggle) had furnished from time to time, and diffused and strengthened as much as possible, and thereby created an immense antislavery hostility to the South, the Republican candidates are brought out by the election system, and if they fail to take that sectional ground which is deemed strongest there, they are at once discarded. The mode of nominating candidates, as well as of conducting the campaign, is so arranged that the Republican candidates for the representation, they do not, as gentlemen often do in the South and West, take ground against the popular calumny and sustain themselves by direct appeals to the intelligence and reason of their constituents. Almost the whole of the campaign of the New York Herald, (which, with its large cir-

The great principle upon which the Northern movement rests, which is already adopted by most Northern politicians and to which they all seem likely to be driven by the force of the popular current, is, that the Government of the United States, and the Congress of the United States, is this: That the Government of the United States must do nothing to sanction slavery; that it must therefore exclude it from the Territories; that it must establish it in the District of Columbia, and in the cities, carrying it to its extreme limit, and that the coasting slave trade and that between the States, should not be abolished, and that slave labor should not be tolerated in a post office or in a military or naval establishment, or in any other place of the like. As these things all obviously rest on the same general dogma, it is clear that the yielding of one or more points would not check, but would merely accelerate the general movement. If the Government should yield when it was reached, they would probably append, as a corollary, the principle that the President should not appoint a slaveholder to office. It is, sir, my deliberate judgment that, in the present crisis, the Government should not yield on any of these questions remains open till the next election, few if any gentlemen will get here from the free States that are not pledged to the full extent of the abolition platform. It is, therefore, in my opinion, of interest of all of us to settle this question at the present session.

Sir, I give the North full credit for its feelings in favor of liberty. I can well suppose that Northern gentlemen would resist in the most emphatic manner the attempt to make an attempt to divide the Union, and to divide the people of the United States. I am not, therefore, surprised to find them so resolute to believe that humanity, either to the slave or to the master, requires that they should be pent up within a territory which, after a time, will be insufficient for their subsistence, and where they must perish from want or from the conditions that would occur between the races. Nor can I suppose that they would be ignorant of the feelings of the people of the North and California for our people to go and settle among them. Prominent Northern statesmen, both in this House and in the Senate, have described the population of those Territories as being inferior to that of the States, and have represented it as being not only inferior to those of the States, but also inferior to that of the Territories. They have said that we know most of, viz. the Chesapeake and the Potomac, the Delaware, the Hudson, the Connecticut, the Schuylkill, the Susquehanna, the Florida, the Mississippi, the Colorado, the Rio Grande, the Pacific, the Atlantic, the Gulf, and the Snake Indians. I cannot therefore suppose that they really believe that those Territories would be injured by having infused into them such a state of society as produced by the people of the States. George Washington, John Marshall, and the other great men of the United States, have said that the thousands of our people who have been sent to the Territories by our Government to our right will be regarded as resting the lust for political power of your politicians, or on the incapacity of your people.

Compared with this great question, the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia is of little relative moment. Of effect, however, of the anti-slavery agitation here is worthy a passing notice. Within the last two years, since the mass meeting at Washington, the feeling has been so strong, that the seat of government might be removed from the District. This would be extremely prejudicial to the interests of the citizens here, many of them have so far changed in their feelings, that they would allow slavery to be abolished, yielding to the force of the argument, that if the Government were to free their slaves are from time to time taken away by the abolitionists as to satisfy them that such property here is almost worthless. A great impression was made on them by the example of the North, and the carrying away of the severely slaves at once, saying that they would not get Congress to pass any adequate law for their protection, as most of the States have done, they seem to be ready to assent to some extent to the Northern movement. Sir, I have no doubt that the Government will be able to do what they should have borne, with so little complaint, the loss of the slaves incurred by the action of the free States. The Constitution of the United States provided for the delivery of such fugitives, and Congress passed an act to carry it into effect. The Government has not only complied with the law, but has completely defeated its provisions, by forbidding any one of their citizens to aid in the execution of the law, and the penalty of fine and imprisonment for as long a term annually as years. There is probably no one legal mind in this country, that the States have no right to legislate in any manner, for the States are not bound to legislate affirmatively in support of the Constitution of the United States, yet it is clear that they have no right to pass laws

usually to overpower the master and prevent recapture. The fugitive slave law, however, is not based on the fact, that the number of runaway slaves now in the North is stated as being thirty thousand—large, at present, little short of fifteen millions of dollars. Suppose the amount of property was taken away from the North by the number of slaves who are now in the North, the complaint would there not be? what memorials, remonstrances and legislative resolutions would come down upon us? How would this hall be filled with lobby members, coming here to press claims upon Congress? I say, sir, many of the border counties of this State have been obliged to give up their slaves almost entirely. It was stated in newspapers the other day, that a few counties named Maryland had, by the efforts of the abolitionists within the State, been obliged to give up their slaves almost entirely. A gentleman of the highest standing and worth of slaves. A gentleman of the highest standing, in Delaware, assured me the other day that that little State lost each year, at least that value of such property in the way of slaves, as much as the State of New York. I say, sir, that the fugitive slave law is a heavy tax to be levied only on the fugitive slave.

Suppose a proportional burden was inflicted on the Northern States. How would Massachusetts bear the loss annually one million one hundred thousand dollars, not only inflicted without law, but against an express provision of the constitution? We may infer from the complaint she has made o-

they have not at least affected the North. During the
of the slave trade, which (as I formerly had occasion to
mark) was continued down to the year 1807, the West
indies, and the southern ship owners, raised large profits
by purchasing negroes on the coast of Africa at thirty or
dollars per head, and selling them to Southern planters at
several hundred dollars. The bringing in of these slaves
increased the value of the land, and the labour which had
been cleared by white men, to be brought under pro-
fitable cultivation. The price of cotton has thereby been
brought down from fifty ten and even five cents per pound.
increased the value of the land, and the labour which had
in its manufacture at the North. In England, also, not
than six hundred millions of dollars is thus invested, as
vast population exists by being employed in the manufac-
ture of cotton. Europe and the United States, and
Europe and this country, get their employment, are fed,
exist on the manufacture of cotton alone. The cheap South
ern production of the raw material not only is the means
thus giving subsistence to a great portion of the population
of the United States, Europe, and this country, but it is the
rate. In addition to cotton, rice, sugar, coffee, tobacco,
various tropical productions are supplied at a cheap rate
to Northern consumption. On the other hand, our slaves
do not produce any thing but what is consumed by the
consumers of its productions. While the North has derived

The American white family would be more numerous than the Northern. Nor is it true that we are the poorer: on the contrary, we are the richer. The property of the Southern people is different States are governed by the public officers, and the States that the slaveholding States are much richer in proportion to their population than the free. Even if you exclude the negroes as property, and count them in the population, it appears that the citizens of Virginia—the oldest of the States—have more property than the citizens of any one of the free States. It will also appear that the slaveholding States have vastly less pauperism and crime than the Northern States. Looking, therefore, at all these different elements, viz. greater increase of population, more wealth and less poverty and crime, we have reason to regard the Southern States as more prosperous and more happy.

Sir, I have not, for want of time, gone into details, but these points, but contented myself with the statement of its general views. I do not cask inquiry will, I am an ass, find, find to be true. I only seek to make comparisons between the two States, and to show that the Southern States are more prosperous and more happy than the Northern States, and that the Southern States are more prosperous and more happy than the Northern States, and that the Southern States are more prosperous and more happy than the Northern States.

In spite, however, of these great facts, which ought to have been all impartial minds, the course of the North has been constantly aggressive on this question. The ordinance of 1787, adopted contemporaneously with the constitution, made slavery a permanent institution in the territory, and, in 1808, abolishing slaveholding, giving the north more than half of all the territory then in territory. When Louisiana was acquired slavery came legally as well as before it. The State of Missouri, which was admitted in representation to Congress, proposed to come into the Union, but was North resisted. The Missouri Compromise, however, then Congress, recognising slavery, was precisely like the majority of the old States, yet they, against all constitutional principle, because they had the power in one branch of Congress, passed a law, which prohibited slavery, and provided by act of Congress that no other slave State should exist north of 36° 30'. By that means, after leaving South only territory for a single State, (Arkansas,) they quired enough in extent to make ten or fifteen large States, and, in the same way, they could have made the States come relatively stronger, they claim the whole of the territory. Should we give way, what is to be the result? California, Oregon, New Mexico, Deseret, and Minnesota come into the Union in less than five years, giving the North a majority in the Senate, and a large majority in the House. At the close of the coming year will, under the new apportionment, give them nearly two to one in this House. Vast immense controlling majorities in both branches, will be secured, by act of Congress, abolish slavery in the States. Mr. Adams, who has been the champion of the North, in the old question, said that there were twenty provisions on the constitution which, under certain circumstances, would give Congress the power. Would not this majority find

have no doubt, sir, that their acquisitions of territory will be the result of the same policy, and that they will have got to get out of Mexico which lies along the Gulf, as we have Cruz; and from which, though well suited to the profitable employment of slave labor, we should be excluded by the policy of the United States. The principle that should not be extended in area. Concluding however, I am wrong in both these suppositions, and that Congress would rather violate the constitution nor annul it: thus we are to expect? Slavery is to be kept, they say, where it is now, and not to be extended. The United States not only prohibit the introduction of slaves, but deny of free negroes into their borders. Of course the whole population is to be hereafter confined to the territories now occupied by the United States. The population in five years will amount to seven or eight millions, in ten years to fifteen millions. However dense the population might become, the negroes will not be gotten out, but the weather portion of the white population. The condition of the South would, for a time, be the Ireland, and soon, by the destruction of the remnants of a white population, become that of St. Domingo. There those new negroes, who would probably be the state of the children. These facts are staring us in the face, and

gentlemen mean that the Union, upon the principles of the constitution, is desirable, I will not controvert the opinion. But the Union never could have been formed, without the written constitution. So, if you now, by your action, practically destroy the constitution, those injured, unable to resist, will not submit. That instrument was ordained, in its own language, to "establish justice, ensure domestic tranquillity, and secure the blessings of liberty" to all parties to it—namely, the freemen of the Union. If, therefore, under its form, *gross injustices* are done, insurrections excited, and the citizens of part of the States politically enslaved, then the Union ought not to stand, as an instrument of wrong and

will tell you that the point of view, which is the view of the South, is that the revenue system is not fair. It is well known that the existing revenue system is not fair to the South and the West. The Government is not going to raise the revenue annually by a duty on our goods. But this system acts very unequally on the different sections of the country. For illustration of the difference, let us take the case of the cotton trade. Cotton is produced in England at so cheap a rate that it can be brought to this country and sold, we may say, at fifty cents a pound. This is much cheaper than our people can afford to make it. They therefore ask the Government to require the payment of twenty dollars more for every bale of cotton. This is a very high rate, but it is necessary to enable our people to compete with the cotton of England. If the Government does not do this, our people will be ruined. Every person, therefore, in the United States, who purchases cotton, must pay twenty dollars more for each bale of cotton. This is a very high rate, but it is necessary to enable our people to compete with the cotton of England. In the first place, the Government is not going to raise the revenue annually by a duty on our goods. But this system acts very unequally on the different sections of the country. For illustration of the difference, let us take the case of the cotton trade. Cotton is produced in England at so cheap a rate that it can be brought to this country and sold, we may say, at fifty cents a pound. This is much cheaper than our people can afford to make it. They therefore ask the Government to require the payment of twenty dollars more for every bale of cotton. This is a very high rate, but it is necessary to enable our people to compete with the cotton of England. If the Government does not do this, our people will be ruined. Every person, therefore, in the United States, who purchases cotton, must pay twenty dollars more for each bale of cotton. This is a very high rate, but it is necessary to enable our people to compete with the cotton of England.

the ton imported, would pay forty dollars to the home manufacturer; and if he lived so far from the manufacturer that he could not pay him in produce, it would follow that, in fact, he would have to pay the Government but twenty dollars, he would lose sixty himself on account of the duty. When, therefore, the Government gets, as it is doing, thirty millions of dollars annually from duties on imports, it is evident that the country would be one hundred millions of dollars, or more than amount the South pays, according to its population and consumption, forty millions of dollars. This sum I think too large in support. In the Patent Office report, made to the last session of Congress, (the last one published), it is stated by the Commissioner, Mr. Burke, a Northern man, that the annual value of manufactures in the United States was \$1,000,000,000, and fifty millions of dollars. This statement does not include iron, steel, coal, sugar, wool, the products of the fisheries, and

other articles on which a duty is collected; adding these, it swells the amount to nearly seven hundred millions. Our imports for that year were unusually large, on account of the war in the abroad. In these cases, all the duties imported, on the goods which are collected, increase the above amount. The statement of manufactures, are in value only one hundred and eighty million one hundred and fifty-four thousand three hundred and fifteen dollars. It thus appears that the amount of duties on manufactures is less than that on imports. It is not pretended, however, that this comparison affords a proper measure of the amount of the burden which falls on the country may sustain, and that, while it pays to the Government thirty-three millions, it pays two hundred to the consumers, in the first instance, two hundred and thirty-three millions. Some few articles are manufactured here as cheaply as they can be elsewhere; and a very large number, at the places where they are made, are cheaper to the consumers than elsewhere. It is true, however, that in a great many cases the consumers pay less even more than the whole duty, because he is not only justly obliged to pay it to the manufacturer or refund it to the importer, but also a profit or per cent. on this duty to each trader in the chain. In other instances, the price is intermediate between what it would be without any duty and that which it would amount to if it were the addition of the duty. Want of accurate knowledge of the facts of the case, however, has prevented us from precisely stating the effect which our revenue system produces, but it is powerful and controlling cannot be denied. The Government annually raises more than thirty millions per year from these duties. The manufacturers, who certainly are interested

far the United States, though there is a gradual reduction of prices in the United States, the cotton states are still the most depressed on this side of the Atlantic. In Great Britain particularly, as well as in certain portions of the continent, such is the accumulation of capital, and so great the number of laborers who are unemployed, that the market for cotton is glutted, and the prices are at the lowest possible rate. We have a right to take advantage of this state of things, just as the Europeans do on their cheap production of cotton. Instead of giving us half a dollar a pound, as they used to do, they, as well as the people of the continent, are now giving us only a quarter of a dollar a pound, in consequence of our overproduction of the article. We have, therefore, a natural right to purchase their productions at the lowest rate at which we can obtain them, to counterbalance the disadvantage of the accumulation of capital in the hands of the few, and the want of capital and labor. To refuse to do this, is to give the South get back very little in the form of protection. Why, then, have Southern men been willing to submit to a system so unequal in its operation? Because, as I have formerly said, the Southern States have been a nation which made no distinction in the Federal Constitution there was a large number of men in the North and the South, that provided they would allow us slaves to be represented, to permit importation for a time, and to deliver up fugitives, the South would, on its part, agree to pay a duty on the importation of slaves, and to a restriction on navigation or tariff law. As the gift of the cotton under the

The manner of disbursement is also adverse to our interests. Of the forty odd millions which the Government proposes to disburse this year, I do not believe that five millions will in any way be expended in all the slaveholding States. North Carolina, for example, is burdened to the extent not less than three millions, and yet does not get back a hundred thousand dollars in any way from the Government. The clear loss, in a pecuniary point of view, on account of the action of the Government, may be set down at three millions annually. The Southern States generally are in the same situation.

What would be our condition if separated from the North? It is difficult to determine the precise amount of the exports of the slaveholding States, because it is not practicable to arrive at the exact value of that portion which is sold to foreign countries. The value of the exports to the North is pretty well known—mean cotton, rice, tobacco, sugar, &c.—we can arrive at the whole value of our exports pretty nearly. They cannot fall short of one hundred and thirty millions of dollars, and this year, perhaps, considerably exceed that sum. This is nearly as much as the whole of the exports of the United States to foreign countries. The value of our exports to the North is somewhat less than the sum of our exports to the South. The States furnish part of our exports, yet that which they do afford is scarcely so much as the portion of our own products which goes to them for consumption. If, therefore, we were separated, or whole exports to the North and to foreign countries generally would be lost to that sum. Of course we should import more and increase our dependence on the North. The value of thirty millions of these imports (and most of the rates of the present tariff law are higher) would yield a revenue nearly forty millions of dollars. As the prices of almost

manufacture, articles are regulated by the production of it in great workshops of Europe, where the accumulation of capital and labor keeps down production to the lowest possible price. It is not doubt but that such a rule would be equally applicable to the price which the citizens now pay. We might, therefore, expend as much as the Government of the United States ever did in time of peace up to the beginning of General Jackson's Administration, and still have on hand twenty-five millions of dollars to devote to the making of roads, the opening of canals, the improvement of the domestic purposes of the country, or by levying only a twenty per cent duty, which the Northern manufacturers found ruinous to them, as they said, under Mr. Clay's compromise bill, we should be able to raise some twenty-five millions of dollars. Half of this sum would be sufficient for the support of our army, and the other half would be available for the improvement of the making of all such improvements as we are now in want of, and especially checking our country over with railroads. Subjecting the goods of the North to a duty equal with those from other foreign countries, would at once give a powerful stimulus to our own manufactures. We have no doubt that the goods of the North would be able to compete with those come in from abroad. English capitalists have filled Belgium with factories. Why did this occur? Simply because prisons were cheaper there and taxes lower than in England. The same motives would bring them into the Southern country, since both the reasons assigned are much stronger in the South than in the North. The goods of the Southern factory some kinds of goods more cheaply than the North. New England, too, owing to her deficient agriculture, even though it is directed to manufacturing, and the system is strained up to a point which is attended with great social disadvantages, so as to retard population. In the South it need not be so, and the system is not strained, and the population pursues. Our slaves might be chiefly occupied on the farms, while the poorer class of our white population and a portion of our female could be advantageously employed in manufacturing. We should thus have that diversity in our

pursuit which it is most conducive to the prosperity and happiness
of a people.

Our country would probably for a time be in the hands of the English and other foreigners. This would not be to our disadvantage, since Northern ship-owners have now charge as much for freight between New York and Canton or Orleans as they do for carrying goods to Canton, the opposite end of the world. The cost of freight from New York to Canton for iron productions, received by the Northern ship-owners, has been, on a minute calculation, been set down at forty millions on two hundred and eighty six thousand seven hundred and twenty dollars (\$48,607,728). The value which the value which such a cargo could bring home is estimated to be \$100,000,000. It is estimated, by some persons more familiar with these statistics, to more than eighty-eight millions of dollars. Whoever looks into the conditions of the different States prior to the revolution of the Union, will comprehend it with the same facility as we find in the present day, that the States, up to the year 1815, were, in fact, scarcely, highly protective as they have been, will find it necessary fully sustaining the opinions I have expressed. Northern writers of elementary books, made for school children, could easily show that the protection afforded by the tariff laws of the Government, and its extension, was the basis of the position where I thought I could exert any controlling influence, or effect any desirable object, by giving utterance to the views of a people.

In throwing out these views, Mr. Chairman, I have no

sought the utmost degree of precision, but I have no doubt that but all the facts will be found on examination not so favorable to my conclusions than I have stated them. My purpose now is simply to present to Northern gentlemen such general views as are likely now to be adopted by the South. I have no aggressive design, but I am willing to say that the highest minds of the South—of the small number of men of higher patriotism, whose utter indifference to all personal considerations will make them, in the language of my eloquent friend from Georgia, (Mr. Toombs,) "devote all they have and all they are to this cause."

But gentlemen speak of the difficulty of making the boundary, and the condition of the border States of Maryland and Virginia particularly embarrassing. To Undoubtedly the Federal Government would have the right to determine for itself, but I think the question of the Confederacy it would belong. If these two

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I submit it, then, Mr. Chairman, calmly to Northern gentlemen, that they had better make up their minds to give at once a fair settlement; not cheat us by a meaningless compromise, which, but for the name, might as well be called a nullity. We might as readily, in the Missouri compromise line, should individually prefer, under all the circumstances, giving up the whole of California, provided we could have all this side of it, up to about the 36th parallel, than to have the whole of Missouri, rather than its southern 36° 40'. We would thus, by getting the whole of New Mexico, and having the mountain chain and desert on the west, obtain a proper frontier. We might then acquire, without any purchase, the whole of the United States, from the country along the Gulf of Mexico, well suited to be occupied by our slave population. I mean, sir, that no restriction ought to be imposed by Congress on this territory, but that either it has been left open to us, or that we are well entitled to say they then, if they make a State territory, determine for themselves whether they will permit slavery.

not. The South will acquiesce in any reasonable settlement. But when we ask for justice, and to be let alone, we are met by the senseless and insane cry of "Union, union." Sir, I am disgusted with it. When it comes from Northern gentlemen who are attacking us, it falls on my ear as it would do if a band of robbers had surrounded a dwelling, and when the inmates attempted to resist, the assailants should raise the shout of "Union, Union, harmony!" If they will do us justice, we do not need their "harmony," but if they refuse it, their declarations seem miserable, hypocritical and false. When these things come from Southern men, I have even less respect for them. Even the most cowardly men, when threatened with personal injury, do not usually announce in advance that they mean to submit to all the chastisement which an adversary may choose to inflict. And those persons who are so ready to aggress against the North, and its numerical power, declare in advance that for their part they intend to submit to whatever the majority may do, are taking the best course to aid our assailants, and need not wonder if the country regards them as enemies of the South.

If Northern gentlemen will do us justice on this great question, we may consent to submit to lesser evils. We may accept of a more oppressive revenue system. We may tolerate a most unpalatable and unwholesome tariff. We may bear the loss of our fugitive slaves, incurred because the Legislatures of the Northern States have nullified an essential provision of the constitution, without which the Union cannot properly be termed, because their pecuniary considerations are not controlled by the rights of humanity. But such portions of the Northern people as are destitute of proper self respect to stand up here occasionally representatives whose evil business seems to me to irritate as much as possible Southern gentlemen, and who are the prejudicial of the worst sort or the Northern community. I think that the Northern States shall keep up and foster in their bosoms abolition societies, whose main purpose is to scatter firebrands throughout the South, to incite servile insurrections, and stimulate, by libels and calumnies, the passions of our persons of color and white women. But if, in addition to all this, they continually insult, you intend to degrade and utterly ruin the South, then we don't go it. We do not love you, people of the North, we intend to become your slaves. God has given us the sword, and we will use it. We will not have liberty by the sword, and with it, at every hazard, we will maintain it. But, before resorting to that instrument, I hold that all constitutional means should be exhausted. It is, in a wise provision of Providence that less force is required to repress a rebellion than to suppress it. I am sure that the United States have been well framed on these principles. While, therefore, a majority is necessary to pass a measure, one-fifth of the members may demand the yeas and nays. In spite, therefore, of any change of rule which the majority can make, a minority of one-fifth, or more, if firm, and sustained by the people at home, can stop the wheels of the Government. If it is ascertained that no proper settlement can be gotten at the Southern question, it would be in the power of the Southern States to secede, and to support a Government, leaving the Government to a dead halt. Perhaps it might be well to give such a cup to Northern gentlemen; for I well remember that when the civil and diplomatic appropriation bill was under consideration, with the amendment from the Senate, that no money should be expended in the purchase of land for the establishment of a colony, and the question of slavery in the Territories, a number of Northern gentlemen resolved to defeat that bill and all other business by constantly asking for the yeas and nays, if they did not succeed in striking out that amendment. I recollect perfectly that I was one of the number who would have staked the Union against striking out that amendment, which was the pending motion, a member of high standing from Massachusetts said to me, "You need not give yourself any trouble about this amendment. We do not succeed in changing it, we shall prevent its adoption." I said, "I would have staked the Union." The yeas and calls of the House, till the end of the session. From similar declarations made to me by a number of Northern gentlemen, as I went through the House, I had no doubt but that I should have succeeded in having enabled them to effect their purpose. I might have done so, but I was not in favor of the amendment had Massachusetts. It is not long since, too, that another citizen of Massachusetts (Mr. John Davis) defeated the two million bill then pending in the Senate, by speaking the words, "I am not a slaveholder." As Northern gentlemen have, therefore, been so long in the habit of making such declarations and assurances as they do not like, I take it that they would hardly complain of this kind of retaliation.

I tell gentlemen that if we cannot in advance get a fair settlement of this question, I should be pleased to see the civil and diplomatic bill, the army and navy bill, and all other appropriate legislation, passed, and then to have the people vote upon every extant public money directly interested in having justice done to the South. It would be far better to have this temporary inconvenience for a year or two, than that we should see a bloody revolution, or something worse. I hold it to be the duty of the Government to stand firm, and here and prevent, till the close of our official term, the use of any measures that might tend to force our people to unjust submission. In the mean time the Southern States could, in convention, take such steps as might be necessary to protect themselves from the effects of the proposed interregnum were to continue long. It might drive both sections to make provisional governments, to become permanent ones in the end.

There would be, in certain portions of the Northern press, and in some of our newspapers, a disposition to interrupt the proceedings. Let them try the experiment. I tell gentlemen that this is our slaveholding territory. We do not intend to leave it. If they think they can remove us, it is their affair. In the present tremor of the public mind it is probable that some of our friends will desert the country, as did the little skirmish at Lexington the Colonies in their then excited state. Such a struggle, whoever might prove the victors in it, would not leave here a quarrel to be remembered. Gentlemen may call this *treason* against the treasury of the Union, but I call it *treason* against their words are right. We shall defeat their movement against us. But even if I thought otherwise, I would still resist. Sooner than submit to what they propose, I would see the South, like Poland, under the iron heel of the conqueror. I would rather that she should find the fate of Hungary.

It was but the other day, and under our own eye, that the gallant Hungarians asserted their independence. Though in the midst of, and struggling against those two immense empires, that could bring more than a million of armed men into the field, they were successful at first in beating down the power of Austria. It was not until some of her sons became traitors that Hungary was finally overpowered, borne down, and pressed to death by the long columns and gigantic strength of Russia. If necessary, let such be our fate.

When the extinguished Spartans still are free,
In their proud charnel of Thermopylæ.

Rather let the future traveller, as he passes over a blackened
and desert waste, at length exclaim, "Here lived and died
as noble a race as the sun ever shone upon." If we were
to wait until your measures were consumed, and your
coil, like that of a great serpent, was completely around us,
then we might be crushed. Seeing the danger, we have the
wisdom and the courage to meet the attack now, while we
have the power to resist. We must prove victors in this
struggle. If we repeat the wave of aggression now, we shall
have peace. The Abolitionists, defeated before the country

on the main issue, I will have power to molest us. I am, therefore, sir, frankly spoken my opinions on this great question, with the same freedom as I have on the former. Gentlemen of the North ought themselves to see that, with submission to what they propose would be ruinous to us, it would not in the end be beneficial to their section. Seeing, then, the issue in all its bearings, it is for them to decide. I am, therefore, sir, at liberty to say, that I am not prepared to assent. Should circumstances divide me, I wish that you may prosper. From all my knowledge of the elements of your policy, I have doubts. That we shall, under the favor of Providence, in all events, take care of ourselves, I have no doubt. In conclusion, I have to say, Do us justice, and we will continue bound with you; attempt to trample on us, and we will part company.

TRAIT OF OLD TIMES.—A law to promote and enforce industry, especially *spinning*, passed the Legislature of Massachusetts in the year 1665 :

"Be it enacted by the authority of this court, that all hands, not necessarily employed in other occupations, as women, girls, and children, who are, or may be, employed in spinning, according to their skill and ability, and the selectmen in every town do consider the condition and capacity of every family, and accordingly do assess at one or more spinners, and be careful that their families are necessarily employed the greatest part of their time in spinning; and if such opportunities were attended, some time might be spared at least by some of them for this work, the said selectmen shall therefore assess each as half and quarter spinners, according to their capacities; and if they do not employ themselves in spinning a full time to come, spin every year, for thirty weeks, three pounds a week of linen cotton, and so proportionally for half and quarter spinners, under the penalty of nine pence a week; and the said selectmen shall take special care to see the execution of this order, and to divide the several towns into ten, six, five, and four parts; to appoint one of the ten, six, five, &c. to take an account of their divisions, and to certify the selectmen, if any be defective in which they are assessed, who shall improve the penalties imposed on such as are negligent, for the encouragement of those who are diligent in this work."

STEAMSHIP EMPIRE CITY.—This steamer is now considered due at New York from Chagres, but, as there was no Pacific mail steamer due at Panama until the 22d instant, we presume that Captain Wilson would detain his ship at Chagres until the arrival of her mail and passengers across the isthmus. We may look for her arrival about Saturday or Sunday next. The news from the gold regions will be one month later.—*Com. Adc*